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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the notion of reconstituting study clinics to promote and sustain the education of Tongan migrant students in New Zealand, describing a project that illustrates how to reconstitute the notion of a clinic and highlighting political, social, and cultural aspects of Tongan ways of thinking and acting that can be engaged to theorize about pedagogical and educational approaches pertinent to Tongan secondary students. It discusses the meaning of study clinics and notes three promising approaches when implemented within a critical pedagogical framework: Po Ako, Takanga a Fohe Taha I Puke Tapapa, and Katoanga Faiva. It highlights the importance of transcending the association of study clinics with notions of deficiency, treatment, and the market economy and instead emphasizing a conceptual framework that recognizes the importance of economics and Tongan social, cultural, and political relationships. The paper theorizes about the three approaches as part of a Tongan frame of reference to begin a process of reconstitution, suggesting that their main purpose is to foster Tongan peoples learning and education. It concludes that the process of reconstituting study clinics is about the capacity of Tongan people to forge links between their own community and the school and the aggressive recruitment of Tongan. (SM)

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Towards Reconstituting the Notion of'Study Clinics'. A *Kakai Tonga Tu'a* Community-based Educational Project

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A *Kakai Tonga Tu'a* Community-based Educational Project.

Abstract

The notion of a clinic is usually equated with a pathological view of people. That is, people upon recommendation from a doctor, for example, go to a clinic for treatment of sickness, disease, and infirmity. A clinic is an institution where patients receive remediation and treatment. It is associated with psychiatry as well as the idea of individuals with problems that need control. Patients' records are kept in the clinic and the patients receive treatment at a cost to them. The critical spirit of the paper is that such a notion of a clinic is ethically and politically undesirable in establishing educational projects for people from the Kingdom of *Tonga*, among other migrant communities in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

The educational project, 1992-1995, established by *Kakai Tonga Tu'a* based at Mt Roskill Grammar School, Auckland is presented as an account of how the notion of a clinic can be reconstituted. *Kakai Tonga Tu'a* is the name given to the Commoner class in the Kingdom of *Tonga*. Here, the class will be referred to as *Tongan* people. The focus is on the political, social, and cultural aspects of *Tongan* ways of thinking and acting that can be engaged to theorize about the pedagogical and educational approaches pertinent to the sons and daughters of *Tongan* migrants learning in the secondary school. Discussing the common place terminology "Study Clinics," and three 'approaches' (meaning initiatives) in particular

that show promise when implemented within a critical pedagogical framework, the need for teachers' developing political awareness of their relationship with Tongan students as knowers and active participants in their own learning is emphasised. The three initiatives are called *Pö Ako, Takanga 'a Fohe Taha 'I Puke Tapapa* and *Kätoanga Faiva.*

The critical perception is that the commonplace terminology, "Study Clinics", is not always just the cliché suggested in its verbal expression. The principal tasks are that of seeking to apprehend the deeper meaning of the term and at the same time to strip it of its disguises; then to question *Tongan* ways of thinking and acting and raise awareness of future possibilities. Thus, understanding of this paper can be expressed thus: education cannot be neutral

Stripping the term 'Study Clinics' of its disguises

The starting point to recognise that neutral education is not viable involves going beyond the naive, formal interpretations of the label "Study Clinics" and not seeing it as a set phrase or slogan. When language is "bureaucratized into conventional formulae" it is necessary to break through the obscurity of the commonplace or of the apparent commonplace and bring people face to face with the facts until now concealed.[1]

The label "Study Clinics" has been used by The Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research and, the Ministry of Education to refer to the "original clinics" called Homework Centres. In the agencies' view, the term Homework Centres is a restrictive one. Consider for a moment the following comments from the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs in the "Study Clinic Guidelines":

"The traditional concept of Homework Centres alluded to Homework specifically and connoted a place or environment where Students went to do Homework. The majority of the Students that attended were indeed working on their Homework. However, even with those students a lot of remedial study was needed in order for them to complete their Homework. Furthermore, the unfortunate label of "Homework Centre" was turning away students who were looking for a place primarily for study. As a marketing ploy we decided that our product needed to be relabelled and redesigned to capture those students, hence the "Study Clinic" moniker".[2]

The contribution of the French scholar, Michel Foucault, is of value in pointing out the purposes of a clinic. According to Foucault, psychiatry needed the clinic for two purposes: "to treat the most obvious, the most embarrassing cases and, at the same time, to provide a sort of guarantee, an image of scientificity, by making the place of confinement look like a hospital. The renaming of the place of confinement as a hospital was a way of declaring that the practice of psychiatry was indeed medical - since it, too, like medicine, had a hospital".[3]

In drawing a parallel between a hospital and Study Clinics, the latter might be seen as places where *Tongan* students are subjected to treatment of a embarrassingly low level of learning and education in the English-speaking pedagogical context in Aotearoa. Like the medical clinic, *Tongan* 'clients' are diagnosed and analyzed before they are prescribed educational products and services that they purchase at a price and use under close monitoring. The critical perspective is that the terminology makes the problem of cultural marginalisation and educational alienation appears to be individual psychological problems. The term carries strong emotive and visual associations and a powerful pejorative charge.

In other words, a 'deficit' frame that perceives *Tongan* students as a problem continues to be used by the Government agencies. Further, the notion of deficiency lies in the free-market model where individuals are constructed as a consumer in order that the producers of capital can provide services for them, at a cost.[4] On the view of the Government agencies, then, Study Clinics are not only treatment centres, but might also be seen as a 'new' technique in the free-market model where 'new structures' (projects) are framed to create 'markets' in education. The educational situation of *Tongan* students is understood in terms of the consumption of materials and services purchased in the clinic. In this situation, the students are simply 'clients' for whom the 'clinic' is set up to treat.

Now, the task is to transcend the naivete of the label Study Clinic because of its association with the notions of deficiency, treatment and the market economy. The important task to emphasize is to develop a conceptual framework that recognises not merely the importance of economics but also of *Tongan social*, cultural and political relationships. The significant issue to consider is what is happening to *Tongan* students in the secondary school. For example, it is impossible to transform, say, Study Clinics, if the people do not understand their relationship with the notions of deficiency, treatment, and the market economy that is predicated on the values of individualism, competition, consumerism and growth of educational services and products.[5] At the heart of the values lie the contradictions that produce cultural marginalisation and educational alienation for *Tongan* people. That is the point of secrecy. *Tongan* people cannot transform the marginalising relationship that is taking place, unless they understand it. What might be interesting and revealing for them is to read and query the 'Study Clinic Guidelines'. Unless *Tongan* people come to understand the values underpinning Study Clinics, they cannot reconstitute the particular educational context.

So what has to be highlighted is for the people to create for themselves, places of interchange, interaction and so on which provide them the kinds of information and understanding, which they would not otherwise encounter. After that they have to forge approaches that recognise the importance of *Tongan* social and cultural customs, and political relationships to learning, in lots of ways that are open to them. The concept can be promoted through dialogue with the Principal, the Heads of Department, the Board of Trustees, or protests, or creation of innovative pedagogical contexts. The dialogue should aim not just at narrow questions, like how to reconstitute the notion of Study Clinics, but also at deeper questions, like why and how cultural marginalisation and educational alienation take place in secondary schooling?

More to the point, the emphasis is on how to produce ways to reconstitute the notion of Study Clinics as treatment centres that also foster further breakthroughs, including asking how an understanding of *Tongan* social, cultural and political relationships can enhance *Tongan* students' learning.

The next section theorises about *Pö Ako, Takanga 'a Fohe Taha 'I Puke Tapapa* and *Kätoanga Faiva* as parts of a *Tongan* frame of reference to begin a process of reconstitution.

Theorizing a reconstitution process

When theorizing about a *Tongan* frame of reference to reconstitute the identity, purposes, and control of Study Clinics *Pö Ako, Takanga 'a Fohe Taha 'I Puke Tapapa,* and *Kätoanga Faiva* are pivotal to the task. The idea is that a *Tongan* frame of reference signals that a *Tongan* community in Mt Roskill, Auckland can name their own work and ideas. Also, it signals that a *Tongan* frame of reference reflects different meanings, values and relationships through which *Tongan* people can be understood.

In order to make sense of the framework, critical knowledge about *Tongan* language and culture is of paramount importance. This would involve considering the cultural and social customs, political structures, practices and relations that characterize *Pö Ako*, *Takanga 'a Fohe Taha 'I Puke Tapapa* and *Kätoanga Faiva*. Finally, it is important to point out that the three approaches are interrelated and that each initiative cannot be disconnected entirely from each other.

The values of *Tongan* society produced by the interconnections between the people and their natural environment seem as good as place as any to start. In considering the relationship between the night and education, much hinges on the how the terms *pö* and *ako* are encountered in *Tongan* language. The terminology *pö ako* is a compound word composed of *pö* and *ako*. Both words are present in different Polynesian languages; Mäori, Samoan and Niuean, for example. *Pö* is both a verb and a noun and has diverse meanings. *Pö* as a noun refers to the night. The noun *pö faiva* is obtained when *pö* is added to the verb, *faiva* (to dance). *Pö hiva* is a noun when *pö* is added to the verb *hiva* (to sing). The word *pö lotu* (to pray) is both a verb and a noun. As a verb, *pö* precedes a verb to form different nouns and verbs. For example, when *pö* is added to the verb *talanoa* (to dialogue) it becomes *pö talanoa* - a verb and a noun.

According to C.M Churchward writing in the Tongan Dictionary (1959), the word *pö* is indicative of the 'favourite time'. From a *Tongan* perspective, the night is when the temperature is favourable to the people, parents are free from the harsh relentless daily routine, and the air is overwhelmed with the scents of the native *kakala* plants. Since electrically lighted homes in the Kingdom are few in number and street lights are sparse, even absent in places, all the stars in the region can be seen during the *pö*.

The night air is filled with the fragrances of the sacred *kakala*. The 'force' of the *kakala* lies in the significance of the relationships expressed in the saying, *kuo ngangatu e kakala*. The saying refers to the fragrances produced by *kakala* when the plants are 'engaged' with the dew of the *pö*. It is a metaphor raising awareness of social orientations and relationships that can be created between people and *ngangatu (passions)* that endure the extent of the night. Thus, throughout the *pö* the air is cooler, honeyed and mellifluous. Hence, the *pö* is conducive to the social, cultural and political relationships that can be expressed through *ako, poto, 'ilo, lotu, hiva, faiva, talanoa* - and so forth.

The term *ako*, according to the *Tongan* educator, *Konai Helu* Thaman, is both a noun and a verb.[6] As a verb, *ako* can mean to learn, to study, to receive education, to teach, to train. As a noun *ako* refers to education. *Ako* refers to school, too. Like other *Tongan* verbs, prefixes and suffixes can be added to make the verb a noun. For example, *ako'i* means learning, *fakaako* means educational, '*apiako* refers to the place of learning, *tamaiki ako* indicates pupils while *faiako* refers to the teacher. *Ako faiva* means learning performing arts, teaching performing arts and performing arts education. *Ako faiva* will be discussed in more detail later in the section on *Kätoanga Faiva*.

The important consideration is that *ako* indicates a dynamic process where teaching, learning and the place of learning and teaching are all interconnected. Two other notions are associated with *ako* - the notions of *'ilo* and *poto*. '*Ilo*, as both a verb and a noun, refers to a process of coming-to-understand and, also, to the knowledge that is acquired through the educational process. When the students (and the teacher) come to understand what s/he is learning and teaching and shares that knowledge, then the notion of *poto*/wisdom is established. *Poto* can refer to a person who has engaged the process of education thereby

acquiring knowledge and then s/he exercises *poto* for the 'good' of all people including him/herself.[7]

On this account, then, *pö ako* as an approach means both learning at night and education in the night in relation with others. *Pö ako* is an approach to learning created specifically by *Tongan* educators, teachers and parents alongside *Tongan* students in the Mt Roskill Grammar School. The approach is one where *Tongan* students who are culturally marginalised and educationally alienated in school by day are provided tutoring both in their weak subjects and homework tasks. At the same time as the students are tutored in *Tongan* language, the parents together with *Tongan* educators and visiting speakers interact and question their own and the established beliefs, ideas, practices and forms of authority - even if in a relatively unsophisticated way.

It should be reemphasized that pö *ako* depicts an approach to learning that is part of a dynamic education process. That is to say, the initiative denotes a space and time of *Tongan* people - parents, students, tutors - who are drawn together not simply to 'do' homework tasks but to *pö talanoa*/dialogue about the values of individualism, competition, consumerism and growth in the market economy. They are drawn together to query the notions of deficiency and treatment, among other issues of interest and concern to them. In the fragmented world that the Government agencies and the market economy have produced in school, it is necessary more than ever to pursue approaches to learning and education that promote the parents as full participants. Put in another way, the parents' education must address and encounter both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations.

The *Tongan* parents who contributed to setting up the educational project at Mt Roskill Grammar School named themselves *Takanga 'a Fohe Taha 'I Puke Tapapa*. As a *kautaha* (Incorporated Association), the parents shared the view that the name ought to reflect their position in wider *Tongan* society as *Kakai Tonga Tu'a*, the aims of the collective body, and the location, Mt Roskill. Thus, the first part of the name, *Takanga 'a Fohe Taha*, is taken from the *Tongan* proverb, *Takanga 'enau fohe*. The proverb speaks about *Tongan* canoes in relation to the art and craft of navigation. It can be interpreted to mean "in association their oars are", or, perhaps, "their oars (are) in association". The proverb depicts a situation where a *Tongan* canoe often requires a few *fohe* (oars) with which to paddle it. In a situation where there is a fair breeze, or a strong wind, then one person could paddle the canoe singlehanded. But when the sea is rough and the wind is contrary to the direction of travel, then, everyone must row and work together to ensure a safe arrival to shore.

The word *takanga* is plural indicating a sense of collectivity and working together. The words *'a fohe* refer to the oars, the word *taha* reinforces the sense of solidarity and unity. The rest of the name *'I Puke Tapapa* means 'at *Puke Tapapa.'* It is worth noting that *Puke Tapapa* is the name that Tangata Whenua (Indigenous Mäori) calls the mountain dominating the suburb of Mt Roskill. The parents agreed to use the Mäori name because *Puke Tapapa* depicts *Tongan* people's historical and cultural connections with Mäori. As well, *Puke Tapapa* is linguistically related to *Tongan* language. Like Mäori language, *puke* refers in *Tongan* to a mountain.

From a critical perspective, the name *Takanga 'a Fohe Taha 'I Puke Tapapa*. articulates the educational positions of *Tongan* students in Mt Roskill Grammar School differently. That is, the students' education and training is likened to a *Tongan* canoe sailing in a tempestuous and

raging 'political, social, and cultural' sea. The strong winds are a hostile force upon *Tongan* language and culture; and the students' direction, aspirations, and objectives. Maintaining a critical attitude strengthens the parents' endeavour to surmount the contradictions that lie in the values of individualism, consumerism, competition, and growth and that promote unfair and inequitable circulation of benefits, resources, and sustainability (meaning retention of *Tongan* students in school). The perspective strengthens the parents' pursuit of possible relationships between the school and *Tongan* people to alleviate and eradicate the unequal power relations produced by the Government agencies and the market economy in school.

The task now is to consider how *Kätoanga Faiva* can contribute to *Tongan* peoples' learning - particularly as it relates to education in the context of a festival. That is to say, the ASB Bank Auckland Secondary Schools Mäori and Pacific Islands Cultural Festival held annually in the largest Polynesian city in the world, Auckland. In addressing the relationship between *Kätoanga Faiva* and education, much rests on how the terms *kätoanga,* and *faiva* are understood. The word *kätoanga* is a compound word formed by the combination of the suffix *nga* and the root verb *katoa. Katoa* refers to the ongoing movement of wholeness (that is social, cultural and political relationships). The suffix *nga* is one of many suffixes in *Tongan* language that when attached to a verb, forms a noun. *Nga* indicates the appearance, the thing, and the means through which *katoa* is implicated. As a verb, *kätoanga* means to hold a festival, as a noun, *kätoanga* is a festival.

Also, *kätoanga* can be depicted as an abbreviated form of the word *kätoa'anga.* The root word is still the verb *kätoa,* the suffix *'anga* indicates a 'source of' some relationship. It might be said that *kätoa'anga* is a 'source of wholeness'. While it is acknowledged that there may be other understandings of the root word *kätoa,* the view adopted, here, is that *kätoanga*

stands as a process in which the continual movement of wholeness is forged. Since *kätoanga* is both a verb and a noun, the duality indicates that *kätoanga* cannot be anything but a process - one that is constituted by, and having to do with the continual movement and the reconstitution of relationships.

As a verb, *faiva* means to perform. As a noun, *faiva* refers to a performance or a task, work, feat or game requiring skill or ability. The same word is used to describe a trade, a craft or drama, a film or movie. The *Tongan* academic, *Futa Helu*, has suggested that the word *faiva* could derive from the compound words, *fai* and *hiva*.[8] One meaning of the word *fai* is 'to do' something. *Hiva* is both a verb and a noun meaning to sing, the song itself, the singing, and the numeral nine. As a verb, *faiva* means to conduct a group of singers and as a noun, *faiva* refers to the conductor. The derivation, *faiva*, somehow indicates the close connection of singing and performing - a movement (doing) of *hiva* (singing) and *haka* (bodily movement) as forms of art. Put another way, *faiva* is a performance of *hiva* and *haka* as artistic creations of the people's interconnections grounded in *Tongan* language.

The *Tongan* scholar, *'Okusitino Mahina*, has proposed that *faiva* is a derivative of the words, *fai* (to do) and *va* (in space).[9] *Mahina* asserts that the term *faiva* literally means "to do rhythm in space". Thus, he theorizes that the *Tongan* supreme arts are:

"fundamentally about 'hiva' (music; being the production of intensified rhythm using sound); 'ta'anga' (poetry; being the production of intensified rhythm using words, that is 'ta'anga is literally the place on which we beat, that is, language; and 'haka' (dance) being the production of intensified rhythm using coordinated bodily movements".

All of this means that as an approach to education, *Kätoanga Faiva* is concerned with the production of *faiva fakaTonga/Tongan* artistic creations. The important consideration is that *Kätoanga Faiva* refers to a creation of poetry and histories in song, the rhythm, tempo, and beauty of dance, and the expression of valued social, cultural and political relations. Thus, as an educative approach, *Kätoanga Faiva* can be understood as a web of movements in pursuit of the values of *faka'ofa'ofa, mälie* and *mäfana* - love, harmony, and courage. Stated differently, *Kätoanga Faiva* is the pursuit of a love of learning, harmony between the body and spirit, and the courage to query the notions of deficiency and treatment in Study Clinics in order to learn well and, in so doing, to become an educated citizen.

As a festival, *Kätoanga Faiva* raises important educational and pedagogical ideas for *Tongan* students' education.[10] Therefore, in discussing the relationships between politics, the ASB Festival and educating Tongan students, it is important to consider the broader social and cultural and political structures that continue to be neglected in the Festival. Consider for a moment, that since its inception in 1976, the Festival has supported the ad-hoc performance of songs and dance by *Tongan* students and their parents. That is, over a period of six weeks at the beginning of each school year, *Tongan* parents and their young people come together to prepare for a 20-minute showcase of *Tongan* songs, dances and costumes. During this space and time the students' rote-learn *Tongan* lyrics and bodily movements. In this way, while the students' skills of performance become polished and slick, the performers' understanding of *Tongan* knowledge remains superficial and fragmented. The point being made here is that no *Tongan* Language and Culture Curriculum exists in which the teaching of *Tongan* performing arts can be formalised. Hence, the political structures and the socio-cultural productions of *Tongan* society, through which *Tongan* artistic creations and bodily movements are provided meaning, are not learned. Thus, *Tongan* students are denied learning that includes

knowledge, beliefs, traditions, narratives, and values that ground a richer understanding of their cultural practices. What is called into question here are the political acts - equal opportunity and the omission of a *Tongan* Language and Culture Curriculum - that perpetuate fragmented learning by *Tongan* students on stage and in school. That is, beneath the impassioned enthusiasm of *Tongan* spectators and the cheery mainstream discourse of equal opportunity lies the disconnection of *faiva* from *Tongan* socio-cultural and political contexts. It is sufficient to suggest that the political focus of the festival is to separate Tongan students from the intimacy of *Tongan* language and culture.

In drawing a parallel between the politics of the Festival and Study Clinics, the latter might be seen too as a place wherein *Tongan* students' curiosity, inquisitive spirit and humanity become deadened. That is, when *Tongan* students encounter the English-speaking pedagogical context as though magnetized by the teacher's word, trying only to memorize the teacher's ideas, then, s/he is transformed into a 'vessel' filled by extracts from an internalised curriculum.[11] When *Tongan* students submit to this ingenuous process, learning becomes purely mechanical for them and this, among other factors, can encourage the students' tuning out and daydreaming about the concrete world and daily living.

In *Tonga*, most parents and children are familiar with the notion of rote-learning factual, analytic, and numerative information in the night.[12] That is, the situation is one where primary school students rote learn English, mathematics, science, social studies, and general knowledge to pass the national examination that will allow an individual to enter a secondary school. An apparent contrast with the conception of teaching and education in the Kingdom is evident here. The urban version of learning and education in the night is conceived as a critical, communal project that includes *ako faiva* (learning performing arts), the personal

experiences of *Tongan* people, and that paves the way for them to transform their own way of thinking and acting in the educational process.

Thus, in a critical vision of *ako faiva a*nd *kätoanga faiva* social, cultural and political interactions happen differently. The people are challenged by the values of *faka'ofa'ofa, mälie,* and *mäfana.* That is, *faka'ofa'ofa, mälie* and *mäfana* move within *Tongan* people in different and complex ways. Put another way, it is through the interplay of learning *Tongan* poetry, stories, and dance during *kätoanga faiva* that *faka'ofa'ofa, mälie* and *mäfana* are articulated. Sometimes the values are not always obvious to the eyes of the teacher. The significant idea is that a critical approach to *ako faiva* and *kätoanga faiva* reproduces aspects of *Tongan* culture affirming the peoples values, identities, genealogies, social status, as well as reinventing and reshaping cultural knowledge and skills. Thus, the ideas that are deemed hopeful and sustaining in the education of *Tongan* people are the ones that explore *Tongan* social, political and cultural relations. That is to say, the ideas in pursuit of not only examination preparation, jobs and income but also beauty, rhythm, and harmony on stage, in school, in kin relations and wider society. Thus, the ideas in pursuit of wholeness are theorised as those social, cultural and political relationships created and produced in educational contexts that are not fixed, immobile or static. More to the point, the relationships are created and recreated as the students and the teacher address and encounter the process of coming to understand subject-content promoted in the educational environment.

Thus, *Pö Ako, Takanga 'a Fohe Taha 'I Puke Tapapa* and *Kätoanga Faiva* are all parts of a critical *Tongan* frame of reference that can provide the conditions for an education that 'draws from the souls' of *Tongan* people to prod and awaken each other.

In doing so, the people challenge administrators to change the objectives, pedagogy, roles, responsibilities and meanings in Study Clinics. Overall, the project is an important reminder that it would be a contradiction in terms, if teachers and administrators from the prevailing perspective on education established a conceptual framework that includes *Tongan* people and their culture.

What are teachers, researchers and scholars to make of all this? First, *Pö Ako, Takanga 'a Fohe Taha 'I Puke Tapapa* and *Kätoanga Faiva* are not a treatment, a commodity, or a marketing opportunity. Second, *Pö Ako, Takanga 'a Fohe Taha 'I Puke Tapapa* and *Kätoanga Faiva* have one purpose: to foster and encourage *Tongan* people's learning and education and those who practise them in Aotearoa. All of the initiatives are hope for *Tongan* students and succour for their parents. Finally, education is the 'mirror' in which *Tongan* people come to understand themselves, and the secrets that Government agencies and the market economy are too afraid to reveal.

Raising awareness of future possibilities for Study Clinics

The purpose of the paper has been to share a set of initiatives; activities and reflections upon the notion of reconstituting Study Clinics wherein the learning and education of the sons and daughters of migrant parents from the Kingdom of *Tonga.* are promoted and sustained. Within the discussion, there has been a particular preoccupation on the strengths and contributions of *Kakai Tonga Tu'a.* It is important to make clear that the community continued their ties to their own language and culture throughout the reconstituting process. It is a relationship encouraging them to be less dependent on the English language and the perspectives, values and assumptions built into the clinical and economic approaches to education in Study Clinics.

Tongan people can develop a conceptual framework that recognises not only the importance of economics but also of family, kinship, political life, poetry, histories, dance, genealogies, love, harmony, and spirituality in the production of understanding, knowledge, and wisdom. The emphasis is on coming to understand information brought to *Tongan* people's attention, and to understand their own values, beliefs, traditions, and priorities. Starting from there, the people can conceive of projects that would allot each person the learning and education, the circumstances and material resources, the respect and dignity, sufficient to partake of social and economic life as a full participant. To create a project where *Tongan* people take responsibility for their lives. *Tongan* people can produce projects conceived to better their current lives and also lead towards better understanding secondary schooling, as best the market economy conceives it.

Tongan approaches can do better than a market economy in education. The emphasis is on the capacity of *Tongan* people to relate deeply with each other in pursuit of a more dynamic relationship in Study Clinics. It is the capacity of *Tongan* people to establish pedagogical approaches that include decision-making on curriculum quality, teaching practices, competencies and academic proficiencies, and addressing issues of how to incorporate *Tongan* language, knowledge, and wisdom appropriately in Study Clinics. It is the capacity of *Tongan* people to produce supportive networks and environments that validate *Tongan* values and preferences and ways of understanding and talking about education, the concrete world, and daily living. The process to reconstitute Study Clinics is about the capacity of Tongan people to forge links between their own community and the school. It is about the aggressive recruitment of *Tongan* teachers to enable the participation and retention of *Tongan* students in the secondary school.

Reconstituting the notion of Study Clinics, therefore, is a critical, consensual task, a sharing of ideas, and a sharing of responsibilities. It is where a teacher is a teacher for a moment only (i.e. the teacher teaches and learns and the students learn and teach). The process is where the education exerted must be validated by the consent of the students, and whose educational participation and sustainability lies in the struggles of a community to establish a sense of identity, purpose and belonging for itself. This is not something given but rather a process in pursuit of understanding, knowledge, and wisdom. It suggests then, that conscious attention be extended to the way Study Clinics operate for the students. Also, the suggestion is that conscious attention is extended to the narratives and skills and even culture that have been produced, to the levels of participation (meaning decision-making), to the power relations that have been produced in them, in the creation of innovative approaches.

Ultimately, Study Clinics must become places of beauty, excitement, humanity, and creativity for all participants.

Endnotes

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1 Freire, P. (1972). Education: Domestication or Liberation? Prospects, 11 (30, 173-181.

2 Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs web site, http://www.minipac.govt.nz/downloadform.htm. See also Mara, D.(1998). *Pacific Islands School-Parent-Community Liaison Project. An Independent Evaluation Report.* Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

3 Foucault, M. (1988). Confinement, Psychiatry, Prison (p. 180). In *Politics, Philosophy, Culture. Interviews and Other Writings 1977-1984.* New York, London: Routledge.

4 Manu'atu, L. (2001) *Tuli Ke Ma'u Hono Ngaahi Mälie: Pedagogical Possibilities for Tongan Students in New Zealand Secondary Schooling* (p. 144). *Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. The University of Auckland.*

5 See ' Taufe'ulungaki, A. M. (November, 2000). Paper presented at the symposium on *Education for equitable and sustainable development - the role of aid in Pacific Education* (p. 7), The University of Auckland.

6 For a detailed discussion of *ako* see Helu Thaman, K. (1988). *Ako and Faiva.* Unpublished Ph.D Thesis. University of the South Pacific, Fiji. For a discussion on the need for the peoples in the Pacific region to create pedagogical approaches that are grounded in our own - e.g. Tongan , Mäori and Hawaiian - values, beliefs, assumptions, processes and practices see Sanga, K. (November, 2000). *Aid relationships: Getting to the Heart of the Matter.* Paper presented at the symposium on *Education for equitable and sustainable development - the role of aid in Pacific Education*, The University of Auckland; ' Taufe'ulungaki, (2000, p. 7). check page number

7 For an interesting discussion on the three concepts of noman, mbu noman and nuim see Mel, M. A. (2002) Ples bilong mi: Interfacing Global and Indigneous Knowledge in Mapping Out a Pacific Vision at Home Abroad p. 3). Paper presented for a seminar at The University of Auckland as part of an interview for the position of Director, Centre for Pacific Studies (21-22 January, 2002).

8 Personal communication.

9 Personal communication.

10 Personal communication

11 See Freire, P. (1985). *The Politics of Education* (pp. 1-4). London: MacMillan

12 See Taufe'ulungaki, (2000, p. 10)

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Bio-statement

The article is based on more than a decade of practice in the professional fields of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages and Migrant Education. Also, it is based on the doctoral studies undertaken by Dr. Linitä Manu'atu and Dr. Mere Këpa at the School of Education, The University of Auckland, 1996-2001.